

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 ACDA-19

CU-04 OIC-04 AEC-11 SAJ-01 AF-10 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SAM-01

DRC-01 /165 W

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O R 151124Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6494

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 153

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NOCOSHIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLKVA

CINCLANT

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3828

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - JUNE 10-14

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD ANNOUNCED THREE
CONCESSIONS - ONE MAJOR BUT HIGHLY QUALIFIED, AND TWO
MINOR. SOVIET AMBASSADORS UNDERTOOK HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHES
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IN CSCE CAPITALS TO STRESS NEED FOR EARLY CONFERENCE CON-

CLUSION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. ITALIANS TABLED THEIR DRAFT OF A "DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN," AND FINNS TABLED NEW PROPOSAL FOR A "COMMITTEE ON THE FOLLOW-UP" OF CSCE. END SUMMARY.

2. GENEVAL SITUATION -- AT INFORMAL MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE, SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD ANNOUNCED WHAT HE TERMED THREE CONCESSIONS AS EXAMPLES OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. ONLY ONE OF THESE -- ACCEPTANCE OF A REFERENCE TO "SUBSCRIPTIONS" IN TEXT ON ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION -- WAS CONSIDERED REALLY MEANINGFUL BY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS. THE OTHER TWO-- A REFERENCE TO MODERATE FEES FOR PERSONS LEAVING THE COUNTRY FOR REUNIFICATION WITH THEIR FAMILIES, AND AN INCREASE IN DEPTH OF FRONTIER ZONES FOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS -- WERE CONSIDERED MINOR. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIET MOVE WAS UNDERSTOOD AS AN INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE MOVING TOWARD MORE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS, AND WESTERN DELEGATIONS BEGAN LOOKING FOR CONCESSIONS OF SIMILAR SCALE WHICH COULD BE MADE IN RESPONSE. AT THE SAME TIME, SOVIET AMBASSADORS UNDERTOOK HIGH LEVEL DEMARCHES IN CSCE CAPITALS TO STRESS NEED TO CONCLUDE THE CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, AND TO SUGGEST THAT LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT CSCE BE RAISED TO FACILITATE DECISION-MAKING DURING THE FINAL WEEKS OF STAGE II.

3. THE MEDITERRANEAN -- AT REGULAR MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE ITALIANS TABLED THEIR DRAFT "DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN," WHICH PREDICTABLY DREW SUPPORT FROM ALL PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, AND REOPENED DIFFICULT QUESTIONS OF FURTHER DIALOGUE WITH NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL STATES AND PLACE OF MEDITERRANEAN IN FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS.

4. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES CONTINUED COMPLEX DISCUSSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION, AS WESTERN DELEGATIONS

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SOUGHT LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD INHIBIT SOVIET RIGHT TO INTERVENE UNDER THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE BUT NOT CONTAIN GENERAL NON-INTERVENTION FORMULATIONS WHICH MIGHT BE USED BY THE EAST TO AVOID IMPLEMENTING BASKET III AGREEMENTS. FRG RESISTED ANY MENTION OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, WHILE YUGOSLAVIA INSISTED ON SOME SUCH REFERENCE, AS WELL AS A REFERENCE TO REFRAINING FROM HOSTILE PROPAGANDA. RECOGNIZING ITS FAILURE TO

RESOLVE THIS DILEMMA, SUBCOMMITTEE TURNED IN FINAL MINUTES OF FRIDAY MEETING TO PARAGRAPH OF FINNISH PROPOSAL WHICH CALLS UPON STATES TO RESPECT THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF OTHER STATES, AS WELL AS THEIR RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES REGISTERED A HEAVILY BRACKETED TEXT ON DISARMAMENT WHICH WILL BE RECONSIDERED AFTER MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE REDRAFTS ITS SIMILAR FORMULATION ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

5. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSED PROCEDURES FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS. LITTLE PROGRESS WAS MADE IN EITHER AREA, AS DISCUSSION SERVED TO FURTHER COMPLICATE ISSUES AND TEXT TENDED TO GROW AND ACQUIRE MORE BRACKETS. SOVIET POSITION OF GIVING PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES AND NOTIFICATION OF NATIONAL MANEUVERS ONLY TO "NEIGHBORING STATES" WAS UNDERLINED. IN ADDITION TO LAST WEEK'S EASTERN MOVE ON TIME OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION FROM FIVE TO SEVEN DAYS, ALLIED CAUCUS WAS CONSIDERING SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FRONTIER ZONE FOR NOTIFICATION COULD BE DOUBLED FROM 50 TO 100 KILOMETERS. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS HAVE NOT YET ANNOUNCED THIS LAST CHANGE IN POSITION IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE, AND THE TWO SOVIET MOVES WERE CONSIDERED MINOR, ALLIES AGREED THAT SOME POSITIVE REACTION IS INDICATED. MOST ALLIES CONSIDER THAT A CORRESPONDING POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF FLEXIBILITY MIGHT BE MADE ON TIME OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION AND THAT A NATO SPOKESMAN SHOULD INDICATE AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME READINESS TO COME DOWN FROM 60 TO 50 DAYS, CONFIDENTIAL

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POSSIBLY EVEN TO 45 DAYS. NATO CAUCUS VIEWS THIS MOVE AS HAVING ABOUT THE SAME SIGNIFICANCE SUBSTANTIVELY AS THE SOVIET CONCESSION. FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF NATO TACTICS ON THIS SCORE ARE SCHEDULED.

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLKVA

CINCLANT

AMEMBASSY TELAVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3828

6. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT --
FULL COMMITTEE MADE NO PROGRESS IN FORMULATING
TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WITH TURKEY AND ROMANIA
INSISTING ON FORMULATION "INCLUDING THOSE IN EUROPE"
IN FACE OF SOVIET OBJECTIONS. SUB-COMMITTEE ON
COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF DRAFT
RESOLUTIONS ON BUSINESS CONTACTS, APPROVING PREAMBULAR
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LANGUAGE CONCERNING THE ROLE OF BUSINESS CONTACTS IN
DEVELOPING BUSINESS CONFIDENCE. SUB-COMMITTEE ON
INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF THE
INFORMATION SECTION OF ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION. ALTHOUGH
DIFFERENCES DO NOT SEEM INSURMOUTABLE, PROGRESS IS

SLOW. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS REGISTERED FOUR PARAGRAPHS ON MIGRATORY LABOR. IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE TEXT ON VISITS OF SCIENTISTS AND "DIRECT CONTACTS" WAS PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED, WITH ALTERNATIVE GDR AND DUTCH PHRASING BRACKETED. US TABLED PAPER ON RECOMMENDATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH WAS ACCEPTED IN SUBSTANCE BY SOVIETS, WITH SOME WORK REMAINING ON PHRASING.

7. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- SOVIETS ALLOWED FULL COMMITTEE TO BEGIN DISCUSSION ON THE NEW FINNISH PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH WHICH CONTAINS A GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THEY SAID THEY COULD ACCEPT THIS PARAGRAPH, IF NON-INTERFERENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND RESPECT FOR LAWS AND CUSTOMS ARE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. WESTERN DELEGATIONS, WHILE WILLING TO CONSIDER THE FINNISH PARAGRAPH, REMAIN ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO ADDITIONAL REFERENCES DESIRED BY THE SOVIETS. IN HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE SOVIETS MADE ONE MINOR CONCESSION ON REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES, BUT WERE OTHERWISE UNRESPONSIVE. WESTERN FLEXIBILITY WAS LIMITED BY NEW FRG INSTRUCTIONS WHICH SOFTENED SOME POSITIONS BUT UNDER SPECIFIC CONDITIONS. RENEWED EFFORTS TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK WERE UNDERWAY AT WEEK'S END. IN INFORMATION, THE SOVIETS FLOATED AN INFORMAL TEXT WHICH INCLUDED A PROVISION FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS, AS DESIRED BY WESTERN COUNTRIES, BUT DROPPED OR DILUTED OTHER ITEMS AND MENTIONED SUBSCRIPTIONS IN A HEAVILY QUALIFIED CONTEXT. IT DID BREAK THE DEADLOCK ON "ACCESS TO PRINTED INFORMATION" TO THE EXTENT THAT INFORMAL NEGOTIATION IS MOVING AND COUNTER-TEXTS ARE FLOWING FREELY. NEW TEXTS ON THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, A MUCH LESS CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT, WERE DISCUSSED IN THE FORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS. IN SUBCOMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, SOVIETS CONTINUED TO STONEWALL ON KEY ISSUES OF ACCESS TO CONFIDENTIAL

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CULTURAL WORKS (INCLUDING ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS) AND DIRECT CONTACTS AMONG SCIENTISTS. FRG TABLED REVISED VERSION OF ITS PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A SCIENTIFIC FORUM, SUBJECT TO PRIOR CONSIDERATION BY A GROUP OF EXPERTS FROM THE PARTICIPATING STATES, UNESCO, AND ECE. PROPOSAL WELCOMED BY WESTERN DELEGATIONS. EAST EXPRESSED AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BUT RESERVED POSITION ON SPECIFICS PENDING FURTHER STUDY.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- FINNS TABLED THEIR "COMPROMISE" PROPOSAL FOR A "COMMITTEE ON THE FOLLOW-UP TO

CSCE" TO MANAGE TECHNICAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY. UNDER FINNISH CONCEPT THIS COMMITTEE WOULD ALSO HOLD SPECIAL MEETINGS FROM TIME TO TIME ON THE LEVEL OF HIGH OFFICIALS.

9. COMMENT: COMING ON THE EVE OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL IN OTTAWA, THE MINOR CONCESSIONS ANNOUNCED BY THE SOVIETS THIS WEEK WERE CLARLY DESIGNED TO EFFECT THE COLLECTIVE WESTERN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH MIGHT EMERGE FROM THAT MEETING. WESTERN DELEGATIONS REALIZED THIS FULLY, BUT THE GENERAL TENDENCY WAS TO VIEW THEM ALSO AS A SIGNAL OF SOVIET READINESS TO ENTER MORE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THIS REASON, IT WAS GENERALLY FELT THAT A RESPONSE IN KIND WAS REQUIRED, AND NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS CONCENTRATED ON IDENTIFYING POINTS ON WHICH SIMILARLY MODEST MOVES COULD BE MADE.

10. THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET DEMARCHES IN CAPITALS WAS ALSO THE SUBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION. SINCE THERE WAS ALMOST NO POSSIBILITY THAT THE LEVEL OF WESTERN DELEGATION HEADS WOULD BE RAISED, IT WAS GENERALLY CONCLUDED THAT THE PRIMARY SOVIET INTENTION WAS TO CALL HIGH LEVEL ATTENTION TO CSCE AND ITS PROBLEMS, AND TO BUILD POLITICAL PRESSURES FOR AN EARLY CONCLUSION. IT WAS ALSO RECOGNIZED INFORMALLY THAT A FEW WESTERN DELEGATIONS (E.G. FRG AND ITALY) HAVE DEFINITE LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS, SINCE THEIR DELEGATION HEADS HAVE OTHER DUTIES AND ARE RARELY IN GENEVA.

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11. TAKEN TOGETHER THESE SOVIET MOVES SEEMED TO SIGNAL A MORE ACTIVE SOVIET INTEREST IN MOVING THE CONFERENCE FORWARD, AND LED WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES TO WONDER WHERE IT WOULD LEAD. WITH FOUR WEEKS REMAINING IN THE PRESENT WORK SCHEDULE, A THIRD STAGE IN JULY SEEMED OUT OF THE QUESTION, AND THE SOVIETS INDICATED THEY WERE NOW FOLLOWING A "NO RECESS POLICY." WESTERN DELEGATES REACTED TO THIS NEWS WITH DESPAIR, AND THE EMERGING DEBATE ON THE FURTHER STAGE II CALENDAR PROMISES TO BE ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT FOR THE FUTURE OF CSCE.

12. MEANWHILE, THE CONFERENCE CONTINUED TO LOOK FORWARD ANXIOUSLY TO THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF PRESIDENT NIXON TO MOSCOW, AND WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATES WERE UNANIMOUS IN HOPING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO SETTLE CSCE BILATERALLY AT THE SUMMIT.
END COMMENT.DALE

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